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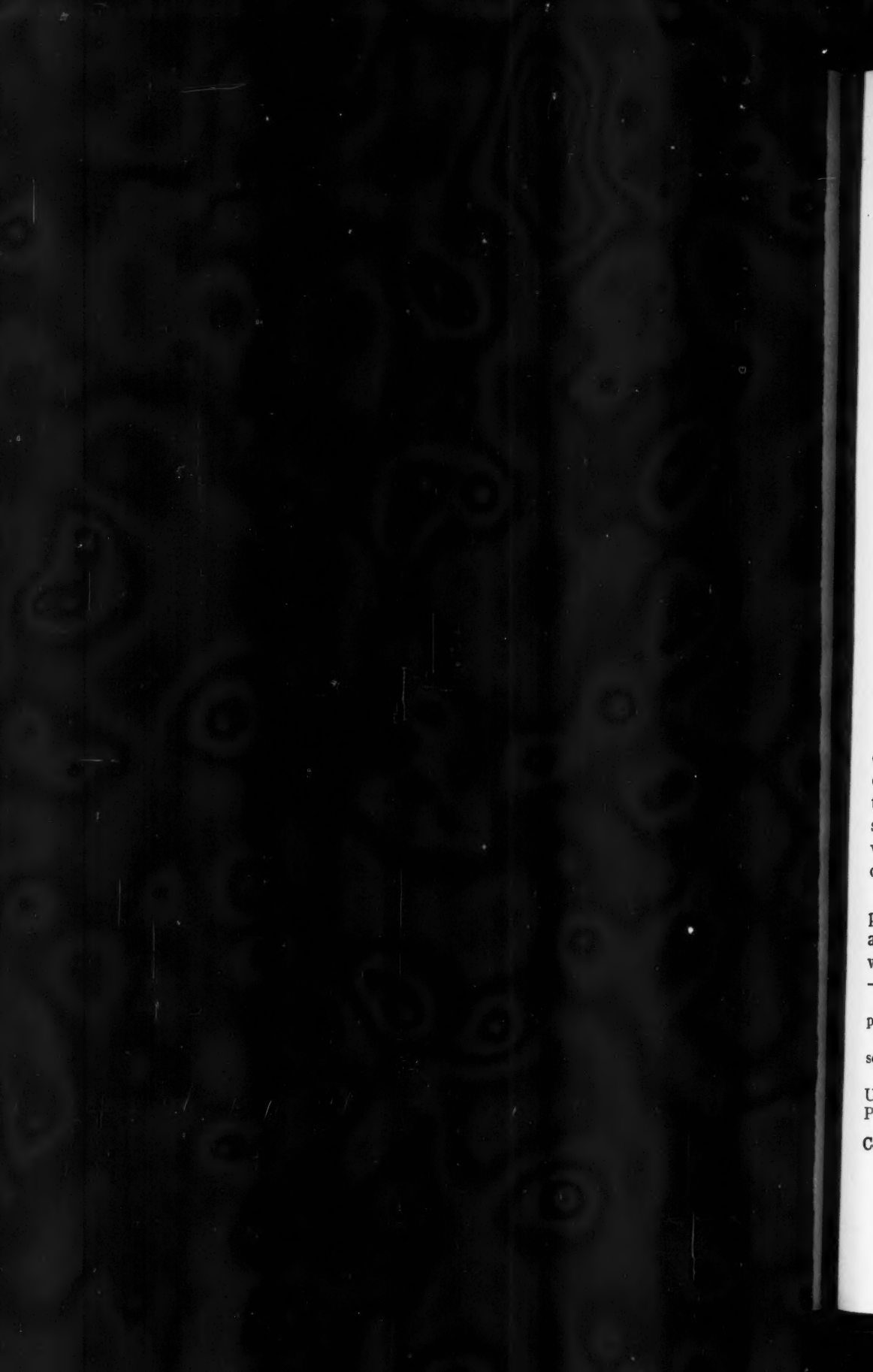
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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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THE SCHOOL TEACHER STEREOTYPE: A NEW LOOK!

John H. Chilcott

The traditional school teacher stereotype of a severe looking, somewhat unattractive old maid, whose sole means of entertainment was attending teas and church affairs, who was never seen with a man unless he was a minister, and whose whole life was devoted to her profession¹ appears to be achieving a new look. Although this extreme example persists today in cartoons and humorous anecdotes, recent evidence has appeared that indicates that the public no longer has a definite stereotype for a teacher. A study in one community² has shown a new stereotype, as yet incompletely formed, which pictured the teacher as an average-looking, neatly dressed, well groomed married woman.

The observation of teachers playing their roles leaves an imagined construct called a teacher stereotype in the minds of people in the community. Since a large proportion (74%) of the residents in this community had very little contact with teachers, the observation of teachers playing their roles had to come from a variety of sources such as the individual's past experience with teachers, movies, television, radio, literary representations and other modes of mass communication.

The local community stereotype of the teacher was derived by presenting a stick drawing representing a teacher in a classroom to a random sample of thirty-one residents.³ In each case the resident was requested to describe the mental picture he possessed of class-

¹ Willard, W. Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching*, Wiley, New York, 1932, p. 418.

² A city of approximately 12,000 population located in the northwestern section of the United States.

³ This study was a part of the Community Study Program conducted at the University of Oregon under the auspices of the Northwest Regional Cooperative Program in Educational Administration.

room teachers (elicited from the drawing). During a pilot study it was discovered that the respondent required word cues such as clothing appearance, stature, etc., to respond to as well as the stick drawing. In each case the respondent was directed toward describing a generalized picture of a teacher rather than specific teachers such as English teacher, or mathematics teacher. From these projections a community teacher stereotype was developed on the basis of the majority of attributes described.⁴

The community described the teacher as an average sized woman who dressed conservatively, was a church member, enjoyed a great deal of respect, and who possessed "average wealth." The residents were about evenly divided between the marital status of the teacher and about the appearance of the teacher. A small majority described her as married while another small majority described her as being average rather than attractive looking. Approximately a third of the sample pictured the teacher as wearing eyeglasses. None of the residents was able to discern a particular age for the teacher.

Five residents were unable to form any picture of a teacher. In seeking an explanation for their inability to develop a mental construct, it was discovered that all five residents associated closely with teachers.⁵ The teacher stereotype for these persons consisted of the teacher or teachers with whom they were in contact rather than an imagined one. It would appear that if teachers wish to be known as real individuals, they would participate in community and adult activities as much as possible.

In spite of what might appear to be a number of characteristics, the current teacher stereotype, at least in one community, appears rather formless. It may be suggested, however, that the reason the stereotype is formless is because the traditional teacher stereotype of twenty-five years ago has broken down, and is yet to be replaced with a new construct. There is some evidence, furthermore, that the new stereotype, if it forms, will consist of a married woman, attractive and youthful in appearance, who commands considerable community respect.

⁴ Frequency of selection does not necessarily indicate a teacher stereotype, however, 34% of the residents included all six of the above characteristics in their descriptions.

⁵ The null hypothesis was rejected at the 1% level of confidence for this relationship.

CHILDREN, TEACHERS AND ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION

I. Roger Yoshino

Research on the attitudes of young children indicates that basic ethnic values develop quite early in life and are mainly molded by the family, other primary groups, the community and to a considerable extent by the schools.¹ However, there is a paucity of current studies pertaining to children's awareness of ethnic differences and the effects of early school experiences on prejudice and discrimination.² Since the Supreme Court decision of 1954 desegregating public education, there have been changes in the covert and overt behavior of the general population in the area of ethnic relations. Are similar changes in evidence in the thinking and behavior of this generation's children?

This paper is a descriptive exploration of (1) the ethnic feelings of young children today and (2) the teacher's influence in channeling ethnic attitudes and discriminatory behavior.

How do past research findings relate to current observations of the relationship in school between children of different racial and cultural backgrounds?

Criswell, after comparing several studies, summarizes:³

"... we may conclude provisionally that children enter school with race preferences already in the process of formation. They may at this age have little understanding of the concept of race, but they have already perceived physical differences between races and absorbed some hostile attitudes from parents and other members of their community. From kindergarten through high school, the attitudes of white children at least, show development.

¹ For example see E. Frenkel-Brunswick, "A Study of Prejudice in Children," *Human Relations* (1948, 1, pp. 295-306); E. L. Hartley, M. Rosenbaum and S. Schwartz, "Children's Use of Ethnic Frames of Reference: An Exploratory Study of Children's Conceptualizations of Multiple Ethnic Group Membership," *Journal of Psychology* (1948), 26, pp. 387-398; E. L. Horowitz, *The Development of Attitude Toward the Negro* (Archives of Psychology, 94, 1936); B. Lasher, *Race Attitudes in Children* (Henry Holt and Co., 1924).

² Some noteworthy studies prior to the desegregation decision are: J. H. Criswell, *A Sociometric Study of Race Cleavage in the Classroom* (Archives of Psychology, 235, 1939); M. B. Goodman, *Race Awareness in Young Children* (Addison-Wesley Press, 1952); A. F. Manshe, *The Reflections of Teachers' Attitudes in the Attitudes of Pupils* (Columbia University, 1935); P. W. Schlorff, *An Experiment in the Measurement and Modification of Race Attitude in School Children* (New York University, 1930).

³ Criswell, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

In Criswell's empirical research she found that cleavage between the sexes was greater than racial cleavage. She states, for example, that a white boy would almost invariably prefer a Negro boy to a white girl.⁴ It is her belief that race consciousness is a gradual process, having a direct and positive relation to the age of the child.

In an early study, Lasher says that the child does not specifically become conscious of membership in a certain racial group until adolescence.⁵ According to Gordon Allport, very young children are not cognizant of racial differences. The story is told of Tommy (white), aged 6, who asked his mother if he might bring Sammy home to lunch someday from school. The mother, knowing that Tommy attended a "mixed" school asked if Sammy were white or colored. Said Tommy, "I don't know, but I'll look next time I see him and tell you."⁶

Goodman used a number of projective materials to test for prejudice in young children.⁷ After establishing rapport with a group of children in a biracial nursery school, they were invited, one at a time, to play with some new things. Each child eventually received several such invitations, and in the course of the "play interviews," each was introduced to four sets of projective materials.⁸ On the basis of this experimentation, Goodman shows that a child's awareness of racial difference is directly related to his environment and its prevailing attitudes.

Ethnic attitudes of children evolve from a complex of societal and personality characteristics which reveal themselves in interrelationships of various sorts, including parental attitudes toward children and preferred practices in child-rearing.⁹ A child's world is full of new experiences. Not only is he influenced by members of his family and his play group, he learns upon going to school that he must mind his teacher. In today's society of changing ethnic attitudes and behavior, how effective is the teacher in influencing the children's ethnic attitudes?

Although Criswell realizes the primacy of the influence of the

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵ Lasher, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁶ Gordon Allport, "Some Roots of Prejudice," *Journal of Psychology* (1946-22), p. 31.

⁷ Goodman, *op. cit.*, see Appendix B, "The Methods of Study," pp. 230-257.

⁸ The four sets of projective materials were (1) jigsaw puzzles, (2) a doll house with its furnishings and miniature doll families, (3) a set of pictures, and (4) a collection of dolls of several types.

⁹ E. L. Hartley, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 387-98.

wider social pattern of which the children are a part, she believes that the teacher, curriculum and experience with fellow students may somewhat modify racial attitudes.¹⁰

Underscoring this point, Montague asserts:¹¹

It is the educators, and the parents, who are capable of changing all this, of making truly human beings of the wards in their charge. The enterprise must be a joint one, between parents and teachers. But where parents have failed the teacher should not also fail. Parents of the coming generation must be taught to love their children, to endow them with that sense of inner security which will fortify them against all exterior assaults upon their integrity, and by loving them thus teach them to love others. But this is where teachers must take the lead. It is this which they must teach those who are to become parents and those who are already parents. We shall have neither peace nor harmony in the world until we have made human beings with peace and harmony in themselves.

It has been generally known that attempts to promote more favorable ethnic attitudes have been most successful with younger children, especially those on the elementary school level. On this point, Goodman states:¹²

We can have 'America for everybody' a little faster if we do something about those childhoods. There is little hope for our grownups, but in our children lies the big hope. While they are very young and suggestible, before their thinking jells and their feelings curdle, we can give them some tools for building "America for everybody."

She points out that ethnic attitudes are generated in each child out of the personal, social and cultural materials he happens to possess. There are, therefore, many points of attack. But since attitude becomes more resistant to change as one grows older, it is imperative to influence attitude formation while the personality is still malleable, even before the generation process is well under way.¹³

¹⁰ Criswell, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹¹ M. F. Ashley Montagu, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth* (Harper and Brothers, 1952), pp. 280-81.

¹² Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

¹³ For a discussion of the process of attitude generation see *Ibid.*, pp. 217-220.

Montague presents his approach to the matter of attitude formation in this manner:¹⁴

What the educators must do is, I think, obvious: they must become aware of their strategic advantage, and they must, alone or in cooperation, take it upon themselves to reorganize the education of the young along the lines I have indicated; to teach humanity first and to regard all other education as subordinated to this.

He further emphasizes the role of the teacher in forming favorable attitudes by pointing out that "good teachers are more important than anything they teach."¹⁵

In short, the teacher plays a most important role during the children's early years of attitude formation. Two of the better laboratories in which to practice human relations, regardless of color of skin, creed or religion, are the classroom, and its adjunct, the play period.

Recently, during an interview with the principal of a grammar school in Southwest where there is a mixture of whites, Mexicans and some Negro children, the following comment was made: "The whites don't like the Mexicans and the Mexicans don't like the colored." Did this general statement apply to children of the lower grades? An interview with a young first grade teacher in the same school helped to clarify the query. She stated that while the children displayed no awareness of ethnic differences, nevertheless she believed that especially among the darker Mexicans, the Negroes and the fairer whites, some children were vaguely aware of racial differences. However, she added: "I think the children very, very rarely even give a thought to this variance in color." Her daily observations led her to believe that her pupils get along well with one another, both in the classroom and on the playground. Furthermore, the children display no ethnic discrimination in situations in which they choose partners. On the playground, in less controlled situations, her pupils seem to choose playmates according to their ability in the particular activity, with apparent disregard for ethnic differences.

Shifting the scene to the Northwest, several years ago in a local paper of a community undergoing rapid population growth and metamorphosis, a columnist wrote an article welcoming a new group of

¹⁴ Ashley Montague, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*

teachers.¹⁶ Several weeks later, the paper carried this follow-up editorial comment:

Now that the new teachers have been here for awhile and have gotten settled, I wonder what they'll teach our kids? I wonder what our kids will teach them?

A partial answer is implied in the experiences of a young new teacher who taught in one of the new schools where the majority of children were of Caucasoid descent (gentiles) with about 5 per cent of the population consisting of Mexican Americans, Japanese Americans, Negroes and Amerinds.

I was asked by several grade school classes to come visit them and tell them about guppies. This was brought about by the fact that my guppies in the school aquarium were so prolific, and as a result I had furnished several classrooms with fish. One classroom I visited, rather typical of the system, brings to mind this experience. It was a third grade class bouncing and full of enthusiasm with great interest in what I was to say. They were trying to relate everything I said to their world around them. It was a world centered around the family and immediate community that appeared yet free from racial prejudice. A number of questions such as these were asked:

'Do you think guppies would like rice? We eat rice at our house.' (By a Japanese-American child)

'I can bring a tortilla. Do you think the fish would eat it?' (By a Mexican-American child)

When the bell rang everyone went to recess. The color of their skin made no apparent difference in their play. Each was proud of his family, his teacher and classroom, his friends and classmates regardless of such a thing called skin color or prejudice which apparently did not exist in the minds of the primary school student.

According to this elementary school teacher, there were no evi-

¹⁶ The community referred to is Moses Lake, located in the northcentral part of the state of Washington. One of the daily newspapers which serves this area is the *Columbia Basin Herald* which contained the above mentioned article.

dences to his knowledge of racial discrimination and very little outward awareness of ethnic differences on the part of the primary school children. However, he observed that in the same school system, the social relationships are modified in the junior high school. Students add new words to their vocabularies, including such derogatory terms as nigger, jap, dirty Mexicans and kikes.

This observation generally supports the findings of previous studies such as Criswell's which points out that the fifth grade level stands out as the point at which mutual withdrawal of races "crystallizes as the characteristic group pattern."¹⁷ Awareness of physical and cultural differences which influence ethnic attitudes, for the most part, does not manifest itself until early adolescence.

However, the question of why children begin to discriminate is still open to considerable controversy. There are a number of theories of prejudice and discrimination ranging from fear of color and social differences to economic rivalry and the scapegoat need. However, they do not fully account for the ethnic attitudes and behavior evident in youth. Perhaps one plausible hypothesis may be the young adolescent's need to belong to a peer group. In the in-group out-group relationship, the young may be under duress to discriminate.

This exploratory paper makes no pretense of delving into the question as to why children begin to discriminate. However, it is hoped that students in the field of educational sociology and social psychology can utilize this report as a point of departure for serious research. More research is needed in ascertaining the degree of prejudicial and discriminatory behavior in various sections of the United States, especially of children whose attitudes have not yet hardened into a set pattern.

In the meanwhile, the hope of overcoming the "American dilemma"¹⁸ lies in the joint efforts of teachers, parents and the community as suggested by the following letter, which might well have been written in response to the Moses Lake newspapers editorial query:

Dear Editor:

We'll teach your children things that will better prepare them for the future. We'll try to show them the importance of the family, of friends, of being creative, of furthering interests, of developing better human relationships, and the need to develop one's ability to think.

¹⁷ Criswell, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹⁸ See Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (Harper and Brothers, 1944).

We will try to instill the cooperative spirit into each child as he interacts in group situations. We will try to bring out in each child the value of personal inner self-respect and a concern for the dignity of the individual. This will mean a whole re-emphasis on the worth of the individual, Mexican, Negro, Oriental or Indian.

We'll do as teachers the best we can, but we'll need your help, your support. If we, as teachers, can make students and parents aware of the ethnic problems existing in their community, this would be a step in the right direction.

If we are to resolve just this one problem of ethnic discrimination, we'll have to start in our own back yards. Maybe you and other parents and leaders of the community will have to alter a few of your attitudes, and follow the example set by your primary school children.

We're learning a lot from your children; are you?

Yours sincerely,
A New Teacher

Ethnic prejudice is a disease that is contracted during childhood, and one for which there is no common remedy in adulthood. Adults pass on their attitudes to children and the young become powerful carriers of this contagious social virus. Teachers can play a most important part by helping to immunize children against ethnic discrimination, a curable un-democratic disease.

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DOGMATISM, SOCIAL CLASS, VALUES, AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT IN SOCIOLOGY

Robert M. Frumkin

In an earlier work the writer suggested that students who wish to achieve high scholastic records in sociology must manifest a high level of objectivity and be relatively less dogmatic than the average student who enters college.¹ It was observed, in an informal experiment, that students willing to taste such non-Western foods such as fried caterpillars and grasshoppers were more able students in sociology than those unwilling to taste these strange foods. At the time, however, no systematic empirical research was done to substantiate these informal observations. But in the spring semester of 1960, the writer used a point-method of grading the students in all his classes so that the final grade of each student would represent a more accurate estimation of the student's achievement in sociology than the traditional crude grade designations A, B, C, D, and E. Now it was possible to test empirically whether or not the high achievers in sociology were really less dogmatic than the low achievers.

To assess the extent of dogmatism in the students, the *Rokeach Dogmatism Scale, Form E*, a 40-item scale,² was administered to all of the 135 students in the writer's sociology classes during the spring semester, 1960.

Curious about whether or not social class played any part in the relationship between sociology grades and dogmatism, the writer inquired about the social class background of each student. Using a modification of the *Hollingshead-Redlich Index of Social Position*, a measure of social class status was obtained.³

Since the writer was also interested in what kinds of values supported various degrees of dogmatism, he also administered the *Study of Values*⁴ scale to the 17 highest and 17 lowest scorers on the *Rokeach Dogmatism Scale*.

¹ Frumkin, R. M., "Fried Caterpillars and Grasshoppers: Some Appetizers for Social Studies," *School News and Views From Oswego*, 2 (March, 1958), 5, 7.

² Rokeach, M. (Ed.), *The Open and the Closed Mind* (New York: Basic Books, 1960), pp. 413-415, *et passim*.

³ Hollingshead, A. B., and Redlich, F. C., *Social Class and Mental Illness* (New York: John Wiley, 1958), pp. 390-391.

⁴ Allport, G. W., Vernon, P. E., and Lindzey, G., *Study of Values* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1960), Third Edition.

Now the writer was able to test three null hypotheses concerning the relationship between dogmatism and sociology grades, social class, and values. These hypotheses were as follows:

Hypothesis I: There is no relationship between dogmatism (as measured by the *Rokeach Dogmatism Scale*) and sociology grades, i.e., no significant differences in sociology grades exist between high and low dogmatic students.

Hypothesis II: There is no relationship between dogmatism and social class (as measured by the *Hollingshead-Redlich Index of Social Position*), i.e., no significant differences in social class status exist between high and low dogmatic students.

Hypothesis III: There is no relationship between dogmatism and values (as measured by the *Study of Values*), i.e., no significant differences in values exist between high and low dogmatic students.

FINDINGS

The mean *Rokeach Dogmatism Scale* score for the 17 highest scorers (the most dogmatic) was 183.94, for the 17 lowest scorers (the least dogmatic) the mean score was 110.18. Statistically, the difference in means is significant at the 1 percent level of confidence.⁵

The mean number of points scored for the term sociology grade for the high dogmatic group was 168.12; for the low dogmatic group 187.06.⁶ Statistically, the difference in these means is significant at the 1 per cent level of confidence. Hypothesis I may, therefore, be rejected, i.e., there is a relationship between dogmatism and sociology grades. Low dogmatic individuals are more likely to earn high grades than high dogmatic individuals.

On the *Hollingshead-Redlich Index of Social Position* the high dogmatic group had a mean score of 63.39; the low dogmatic group a mean score of 53.82.⁷ Statistically, the difference in means is significant at the 5 percent level of confidence. Hypothesis II may, therefore, be rejected, i.e., there is a relationship between dogmatism and social class, an inverse relationship. The lower the social class position the higher the dogmatism.

⁵ All tests of significance in this study are one-tailed tests. On the meaning and use of one-tailed tests of significance, see *inter alia*, A. L. Edwards, *Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences* (New York: Rinehart, 1954), pp. 258-261, *et passim*.

⁶ The score of 168.12 was equivalent to a term grade of C; the score of 187.06 was equivalent to a term grade of B.

⁷ On the index, the lower the score the higher the social class position.

In Table I are the findings on values and dogmatism. Since five significant differences in mean values were found between the high and low dogmatic groups and the norm group, Hypothesis III is rejected, i.e., there is a relationship between dogmatism and values. The high dogmatic group was found to be higher than the low dogmatic group in economic and religious values and lower than the norm group in the theoretical value. The low dogmatic group was found to be lower than the norm group and high dogmatic group in economic values, and lower than the high dogmatic group in the religious value.

TABLE I

Comparison of High and Low Dogmatic Students on the *Study of Values* in Terms of Mean Value Scores, with the Norm Group

Group	VALUES					
	Theoretical	Economic	Aesthetic	Social	Political	Religious
Norm ^a	39.75	{ 40.33	38.88	39.56	40.39	{ 41.01
H. Dogmatic	37.09 ^b	{ 38.91	38.71	39.24	39.24	{ 46.83 ^c
L. Dogmatic	39.00	{ 35.68 ^b	40.79	41.53	40.56	{ 42.44 ^b

^a The norm group consists of 3778 college students. See G. W. Allport *et al*, *Manual: Study of Values* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1960), Third Edition, p. 12.

^b Differences in means significant at the 10 percent level. All tests of significance are one-tailed.

^c Differences in means significant at the 1 percent level.

DISCUSSION

Objectivity is the *sine qua non* for successful academic achievement in all sciences. Since sociology is a science, objectivity is needed by students who expect to earn high grades in this field. In many ways it is, perhaps, more difficult to acquire the kind of objectivity necessary for high achievement in sociology because of the fact that so much of man's behavior is explained to the layman by so many unscientific generalizations which form the cores of the ideologies of many of our subcultures and our culture as a whole. For the above reason, it often becomes a primary task of the sociology instructor to help the student to unlearn these myths which dominate his conception of human nature so that he might be free to gain objective knowledge about man's behavior and nature. Very ethnocentric,

biased, dogmatic individuals generally have a difficult time doing well in sociology courses.

It is interesting to find that lower socio-economic status persons are more dogmatic than higher status individuals. Why does this occur? Well, one answer, it is felt, might best be found in studying the dominant values of the high dogmatic as compared to the low dogmatic groups. The findings indicated that lower class individuals were significantly higher in religious and economic values and lower in the theoretical value. Studies of religion and social class suggest that lower socio-economic status individuals are more likely to adopt fundamentalist, orthodox religious views.⁸ Studies of the values of lower class individuals suggest that the economic value dominates their outlook so that they are likely to regard a theoretical science like sociology as highly impractical.⁹ There is a tendency also, it seems, for lower class individuals to avoid problems in which highly abstract behavior is required. On the other hand, the low dogmatic individuals are both low in economic and religious values as measured by the *Study of Values*, their intellectual orientation is more scientific than that of the high dogmatic group.

How are these value dominances of the lower class individuals related to their relatively higher dogmatism? Part of the explanation is due to the intellectual orientation which dominates the lower class individual. He tends to accept or reject the status quo on the basis of dogma he agrees or disagrees with, but rarely in terms of scientific and critical examination. In fact, it may be said that he has very little real appreciation of what is involved in the scientific method or critical thinking. This is due, in large part, it is suggested, to the passive economic and intellectual role required of the lower class individual. Typically he is an employee who must take orders from an employer authority upon whom he is economically and emotionally dependent upon for security. Typically he is anti-intellectual, making decisions not on the basis of reason and observation, but on the bases of impulse, or submission to authoritarian kinds of authority. It is believed that this, in part, is due to the intellectual isolation of the lower class individual. His view of the world is never seriously challenged because he generally accepts the ethos of his subculture uncritically. Today he is the victim of the mass media of communi-

⁸ See *inter alia*, L. Pope, "Religion and the Class Structure," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 256 (March, 1948), 84-91.

⁹ Frumkin, R.M., "Syphilitic Psychosis: A Social Scientific Approach," *Alpha Kappa Delta*, 24 (Spring, 1954, 25-28.

cation which, knowing his nature, make millions of dollars from him on everything from extravagant automobiles to underarm deodorants.¹⁰

The question to ask is: can education help people to become less dogmatic so that they can contribute something worthwhile toward the realization of our democratic goals? Empirical investigation suggests that the answer is yes. The writer administered the *Rokeach Dogmatism Scale* to 28 lower division (freshman and sophomore students and 28 upper division (junior and senior) students and found that the latter group had a significantly lower mean score than the former group.¹¹

We know, of course, that educational level is inversely related to social class status. If we raise the educational level of the American people we will then, it seems, have a good chance of decreasing dogmatism and thus helping the individual to assume the kind of critical intellectual orientation so vitally needed in a vigorous democratically oriented society.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study of high and low dogmatic students indicates that the high dogmatic students are more likely to get lower grades in sociology courses, to be of lower social class status, and to be higher in religious and economic values than low dogmatic students. Dogmatism, however, seems to be a function of the level of education achieved by individuals. As students advance in college they become less dogmatic. In this study, for example, seniors and juniors were significantly less dogmatic than freshmen and sophomores.

One might conclude from this study that education, by helping to decrease dogmatism in individuals, is aiding one of the most important aims of our democratically oriented society, namely, the creation of the kind of citizen who is more likely to act upon the bases of reason and critical thinking than on impulse, emotion, and blind acceptance of dogma. Low socio-economic status, however, has the effect of maintaining dogmatism in disprivileged groups by preventing the development of the attitudes and opportunities necessary to achieve the critical intelligence needed to reduce dogmatism and achieve some measure of objectivity. Students from the lower socio-

¹⁰ See *inter alia*, V. Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders* (New York: David McKay, 1957).

¹¹ The mean Rokeach score for the lower division students was 149.11; for the upper division students the mean was 141.16. The difference in means was statistically significant at the 5 percent level of confidence using a one-tailed test of significance.

economic status backgrounds will generally have difficulty in studying the behavioral sciences because these sciences demand the kind of objectivity and critical intelligence which somehow never takes root in a subculture dominated by dogmatic ideologies and the dominant values of the economic man. Yet the very touchstone of a democratic society is the critical intellectual orientation so characteristic of the sciences.¹² It therefore seems to this writer that the fact that dogmatism is decreased as a college student advances through higher education programs, and that such a fact is of vital consequence to the realization of a democratic society, that public institutions of higher education, such as the State University of New York, which provide higher education to the socio-economic disprivileged individuals in our society are contributing a service to our society which is so significant that their continued existence and growth seems as inevitable as the fact that the sun will be shining somewhere tomorrow.

¹² See *inter alia*, P. Wylie, *Generation of Vipers* (New York: Rinehart, 1955), New Annotated Edition.

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SOCIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PROFESSOR IN NOVELS

Michael V. Belok

Novels, just as the motion pictures, radio, television, or the newspapers, reveal many attitudes commonly held about college professors as a social type. Usually these attitudes are sharply delineated in the mass media because of the nature of these media. Space and time often preclude the possibility of subtle presentations of attitudes and, therefore, they are focused upon one or two salient aspects which are readily recognizable to most people. The novel differs in that it allows for attitudes to be concealed more effectively and only gradually revealed in the course of time. Yet careful analysis of the novel will often lay bare certain explicit or implicit attitudes toward professors.

Why examine the novel? Why is it important to know how the college teacher is characterized in the novel? One reason for desiring to know is simply curiosity. Any person engaged in a profession cannot help but be curious as to how others see his group. But another and probably more cogent reason is the matter of critical self-examination. Since novelists are generally recognized to be perceptive students of human nature and affairs, it seems reasonable to examine novels to discover how professors appear to keen students of human nature. If novels reflect social attitudes, and if novelists are perceptive students of human nature; then an examination of novels may reveal some of the weakness of the teaching profession. An examination of novels may also reveal possible stereotyped notions about college professors. These stereotypes may or may not be accurate, but they do have an effect on the social status of any occupational group.

In an attempt to discover common attitudes toward professors, fifty novels published since 1940 were examined. Each novel was chosen for analysis because in it appeared at least one professorial character. In some novels, the professor was only a minor figure and in others he was the major figure or the leading character. The analysis of the novels revealed a number of recurring and sharply defined attitudes toward college professors. As is to be expected, the attitudes differ in respect to the professor's sex. One type of an attitude is evinced toward the men and another toward the women.

ATTITUDES TOWARD MALE PROFESSORS

The attitudes toward the male professors were as follows and are listed in order of their frequency:

1. The college professor is unworldly, impractical, and simple, when it comes to the real affairs of life.
2. Intellectual life may make him timid, shy, nervous, and repressed or it appears to attract many men of this type.
3. The college professor who is interested in the arts is unmanly and possibly, a little "queer."
4. The college teacher is a second-rater, a man who could not "make a go of it" in the really important affairs of life.

ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALE PROFESSORS

The analysis revealed a number of interesting attitudes toward women college professors and toward certain types of women. These attitudes were:

1. Intellectual activities unsex a woman, and she pays a high price for her intellectual life. As a result, she is prone to all sorts of nervous disorders and may become severely maladjusted. There is little hope she will marry, and, in a few cases, her intellectual activities are said to make her frigid. In any case, intellectual activities seem to make some women cold and lacking in human warmth.
2. The attractive woman, if she is a scholar or college teacher, is somehow different. A pretty woman as a college teacher is not credible to many, and ingenious explanations are necessary to account for her scholarly interests. Usually the explanation is some type of early psychological experience which turns the pretty young girl away from the interests of the more typical girl and toward books and scholarship.
3. Unattractive women are perfectly credible as scholars and their interests in intellectual activities do not require any explanation.
4. No greater misfortune can befall a woman than to be physically unattractive, and this misfortune of physical unattractiveness apparently warps her soul and makes her a spiteful creature.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SEXES

On the whole, men and women professors were depicted in the novels in a remarkably similar fashion, but there were several important differences in the attitudes toward the sexes. These differences were:

1. Male college professors were usually depicted as married; the women were almost without exception, unmarried.

2. There was a pronounced tendency in the novels for the woman to be depicted as having some sort of emotional difficulty.
3. It was significant that the unfavorable characterizations of women always had them as ugly women; whereas in the case of men, they might have been handsome and were still characterized in a very unfavorable manner.
4. It was also significant that there was a suggestion that intellectual activities either made or attracted hostile and aggressive women; whereas intellectual activities were supposed to either make or attract nervous and timid men.

CONCLUSIONS

It was assumed at the beginning of this study that novels reflect social attitudes and this assumption appears to be substantiated by the findings. The authors do appear to be reflecting common attitudes held by many in our society. These attitudes appear to be implicit in the treatment of many of the characters, although they are not always openly stated. Yet in many novels the attitudes are explicitly set forth. This reflection of attitudes is especially true in the case of the women professors. These attitudes have been presented above and they are attitudes that have existed for centuries. The learned woman has been a figure of ridicule, distrust, and dislike for a long time. The attitudes evinced toward her have remained virtually unchanged, and, if the novels are any guide, will remain unchanged for some time into the future.

This hostility toward the learned woman is best illustrated in the case of the stereotype of unattractive female professors. She is a mannish type woman, angular and dried out. She is always very hostile with bitter, and ill-tempered dispositions. Her tongue is usually corrosive and she dominates others in face to face relationships. She usually has poor relations with men, or, for all practical purposes, none at all. She is, in short, completely lacking in warmth and femininity. Most surprising of all is the utter lack of sympathy shown the unattractive woman. In not one of the novels examined is there one case of a physically unattractive woman who is a warm, outgoing person, or even one whose relationships with others is of a high quality. A strange state of affairs, to say the least.

Why is hostility the essence of the stereotype of the unattractive female college professor? Is it because the way is so difficult for women that they, in the course of time, become bitter and frustrated? Stereotypes are not completely without validity. They must have some relationship to fact. The novelist cannot be completely wrong.

They must reflect social attitudes which do affect females and these may very well be in part responsible for the type of women characterized in these novels. This is a matter that warrants careful consideration and study.

The attitudes toward the male professor are known to many. There is nothing novel about them. But the fact that they are set forth in the novels may lend credence to them for many individuals. There is no doubt that there is some validity in all of them, but they do seem somewhat hackneyed. Regardless of this, they do indicate unfavorable ideas about the professor as a social type.

Why the novelists choose to present these attitudes is not a question that can be answered by this paper. The novelists may themselves hold these attitudes or they may find it necessary to present them in their novels for various reasons. Whatever the case, they are found in the novels.

This tendency of the novel to present a stereotyped characterization of the female professor and to reflect widely held attitudes toward both female and male professors leads to one conclusion: the characterization of the college professor in the novels tends to reinforce stereotyped notions and attitudes about the professor. This appears to be an inescapable result of the characterizations. The extent to which such characterizations damage the profession depends a good deal upon the sophistication and acumen of the readers. It would be difficult to ascertain the effect of these characterizations upon readers, but a guess may be hazarded that many individuals will be unfavorably influenced. However, it is well to point out that many readers will be sufficiently sophisticated to evaluate these characterizations. But it is unlikely this type of reader would be affected by any manner of characterization of the professor in novels. It is with those who may be affected that there is cause for concern. Therefore, it is also concluded that the novels do in all probability, damage the profession.

This last possibility that the characterizations of the college professors damage the profession suggests that action should be taken to combat stereotyped notions and attitudes about the professor. The public relations departments of college and universities should be cognizant of these stereotypes and attitudes. It is not unreasonable to believe that a process of public education might be effective to a degree in dispelling many of these ideas. Beliefs that have existed for many years cannot be easily changed, but there is much about the present situation in our society which augurs well for such efforts. College public relations departments should, therefore, take advantage

of opportunities to show that many of these beliefs about professors are of limited validity.

There is much which can also be done by individual professors. They should make every effort to develop a critical ability in college students so that the students may properly evaluate stereotypes and specious social attitudes. There is a great need for critical examination not only of novels, but of all the mass media of communications. The mass media are a potent force in our civilization and the ideas and attitudes presented in them do much to shape our social character. The skills which allow an individual to examine and critically evaluate ideas appearing in the mass media are a necessity today, for the mass media need to be subject to the check of a public which is capable of critically evaluating their product.

The following are a few of the novels examined in this study:

- Beresford-Howe, Constance. *Of This Day's Journey*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1947.
- Breckling, Grace Jamison. *Walk in Beauty*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955.
- Burdick, Eugene. *The Ninth Wave*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1956.
- Cameron, Eleanor. *The Unheard Music*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950.
- Corbett, Elizabeth. *Professor Preston at Home*. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1957.
- Gessner, Robert. *Youth Is the Time*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945.
- Jarrell, Randall. *Pictures from an Institution*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955.
- McCarthy, Mary. *The Groves of Academe*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952.
- Marston, Everett C. *Take the High Ground*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1954.
- Redinger, Ruby. *The Golden Net*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1948.
- Sarton, May. *Faithful Are the Wounds*. New York: Rinehart and Company, 1955.
- Wetherell, June. *But That Was Yesterday*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1943.

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MARRIED STUDENTS AT A STATE UNIVERSITY

Rollin Chambliss

A major social change is revealed in the presence on college campuses since 1946 of married students in large numbers. The traditional idea that marriage involves responsibilities that a student fully engaged in the pursuit of knowledge can ill afford to assume is being challenged. Almost one-fourth of the students in the nation's colleges and professional schools are married. As a minority group in the college community, their influence on college life may be somewhat limited, but it does act to cast doubt on the belief that celibacy is a price to be paid for higher education. Who are these married students? To whom are they married? In what circumstances did they decide to marry? How are they supported? To what extent are they confronted with conflicting roles? What special adjustments to college life are they required to make? These are important questions regarding a social situation that must be described before it can be explained. With such questions in mind, a study of married students registering for the Fall Quarter, 1958, at a state university was undertaken, in the hope that certain facts of theoretical significance might be discovered.

For the sake of homogeneity in a group selected from an extremely heterogeneous body of married students, the study excluded all students over 27 years of age and all students for whom course work towards a degree was not a primary activity, such as teachers attending Saturday classes only, special students taking a single course, interns in programs directed by the College of Education, and graduate students not in residence who were working elsewhere on a thesis or problem. Thus a universe of 750 married students was created, all of them comparatively young and all of them engaged primarily in work towards a college degree. All of the various official records of these students were examined for pertinent data, and a questionnaire was mailed to each of them. Of these questionnaires, 366 were completed and returned, 307 by male students and 59 by female students. The distribution by sex of the completed questionnaires was exactly the same as the distribution by sex of married students.

The 366 married students who completed questionnaires cannot be regarded as a representative group of all the married students in the student body at the time of the study, since two selective factors were deliberately chosen—namely, the exclusion of students for whom college work was not a primary activity and the limitation of the study to students under 27 years of age. There is nothing to indicate,

however, that the respondents do not represent the selected group of married students, and it can be assumed that the findings reported below respecting this group reflect the existing situation. That situation is described without repeated acknowledgement of the stated limitations of the data.

MEDIAN AGE AT MARRIAGE

The median age at marriage of the male students was 21.8 years, and of female students, 20.4 years. Since college attendance is usually associated with late marriage, these figures are somewhat surprising. The National Office of Vital Statistics computed, from data obtained in 1956 from 23 reporting states, the age at marriage and found that for all white males in the reports the median age at first marriage was 23.1 years and for all white females the median age at first marriage was 20.2 years.¹ These figures are in line with those based on various other sources of information.²

There is reason to believe that for most students attendance at college means that marriage is delayed, perhaps by about 2 years as an average.³ But the students in this study who have deviated from one practice by combining marriage and college attendance appear to have deviated from another, that establishing 23 years for males and 20 years for females as the conventional ages, as an average, for first marriage in the United States. The college females in this study married about 2 years earlier than persons in their educational group usually marry, and at about the same age that white females of all groups in the United States marry for the first time. The deviation of the male students is more striking, since they married not only several years earlier than males in their educational group usually marry, but also about a year earlier than the average age at first marriage for all white males in the United States.

This situation is not explained by the presence among them of a large number of students who were extremely young at the time they married, since only 15 percent of the male students were under 20 years of age when they married, and only 7 percent of the female

¹ National Office of Vital Statistics: "Marriages—Detailed Statistics for Reporting Areas, 1956," *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, Vol. 48, No. 16, October 27, 1958.

² For example, Bureau of the Census: "Population Characteristics," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 72, December 21, 1956, and No. 90, December 29, 1958.

³ See Thomas P. Monahan, *The Pattern of Age at Marriage in the United States* (Philadelphia: Stephenson Brothers, 1951), Vol. II, pp. 242-245, for a summary of a number of studies dealing with education and age at marriage.

students were under 18 years of age. Furthermore, only 10 percent of the male students married females under 18 years of age, and only 11 percent of the female students married males under 20 years of age.

A third deviation from customary marriage practices in the United States is also observable among these college students: the difference between the median ages of the husbands and wives is only 1.4 years. Since during the last decade grooms generally in the United States have been from $2\frac{1}{2}$ years to 3 years older than their brides at first marriage, and from 3 to 4 years older during the earlier decades of this century,⁴ it is worthy of note that these college students deviate considerably from the usual age-difference pattern found in the United States. Whether or not the spouse is also a student makes no difference in this respect, since the median age at marriage of wives who are not students is practically the same as the median age at marriage of female students, and the median age at marriage of husbands who are not students is exactly the same as the median age of male students. It should be noted also that it is the males in this study who are responsible for the shrinkage in the age-difference pattern, since they married a full year earlier than white males in the United States customarily marry. The female students and the wives of students, on the contrary, married at the usual average of about 20 years.

Thus, in this study group can be observed three forms of variation from the usual practices prevailing in the United States. These students are unusual in that as college students they are married, since delayed marriage is a price commonly paid for college education. They are also exceptional in that the males among them have married a full year earlier than the average white male in the United States marries for the first time. Finally, they are exceptional in that the difference in age between husbands and wives in the college group is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ years, whereas in the population as a whole the difference is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 years.

DATING AND THE DECISION TO MARRY

About 51 percent of the married college students in this study first met their future spouses in the home community where both resided. Thirty percent of them were both away from home when they first met. They were acquainted with one another before marriage for 2

⁴ Bureau of the Census: "Population Characteristics," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 72, December 21, 1956.

years and 3 months, on an average. Twenty-two percent of them had known one another for one year or less, while 6 percent of them had known one another only 6 months or less before they married. At the other extreme, 34 percent had been acquainted with their future spouses for 4 years or longer.

The median time of steady dating was one year, but 5 percent of the students continued to date persons other than those they married up until the date of the marriage. Ten percent of them married without prior engagement.

Only 35 percent of the respondents sought the advice of their parents before making the decision to marry. A few consulted with older friends and 6 percent of them with friends of their own age, but 58 percent of the respondents made the decision to marry without advice. It is significant that many young people make as important a decision as marriage without seeking advice from anyone. Apparently in our society the idea prevails that marriage is a personal and private matter and not, therefore, a proper concern of others, even parents and intimate friends. Recourse to professional advice was extremely rare, in part perhaps because such advice is not usually available, but also it would seem because young people believe that they should face this decision, unlike certain other major decisions in life, unaided and alone.

Sixty-four percent of the respondents were already in college when they decided to marry. An additional 24 percent knew at the time they married that they were going afterwards to college. Only 12 percent of the respondents made the decision to go to college after their marriages occurred. Apparently, many young people today see no necessity to forego the immediate satisfaction of marriage for the sake of distant vocational goals that require college attendance. The decision to marry is made after the decision to go to college has been made, and the decisions are not regarded as alternatives.

Very little parental opposition to the marriages examined in this study was reported, although the male students married when they were about 2 years younger than their fathers were at marriage and the females when they were scarcely older than their mothers were. Since only 18 percent of the fathers and 15 percent of the mothers were college graduates, the level of educational achievement of the parents was lower than that of the students. It seems doubtful, however, that disparity in educational experience between parents and children could in itself explain the failure of college students to seek the counsel of their parents in this matter.

Only 2 percent of the respondents reported steadfast opposition

to the marriage from one or both of their parents. Slightly less than 10 percent stated that one or both of their parents had expressed some disapproval, usually because of a fear that the marriage would interfere with educational plans, but these parents had then given reluctant consent to the marriage. Sisters were more inclined to oppose the marriage of brothers than were parents to oppose the marriage of their sons and daughters. Opposition from a brother was reported by only one respondent.

Since 35 percent of the respondents said that before marriage they attended college with the persons they married, it is estimated that the marriages of about one-third of the couples in the group resulted from college romances.

THE MARRIAGE

The distribution of marriages by month of occurrence followed generally the usual pattern of the nation, with a high peak of 24 percent in June and a secondary peak in August and September. The proportion of summer marriages was somewhat more pronounced for the college group than for the United States as a whole, and an extremely low figure for October in the college group is significant, since for all marriages in the United States, October and December are about equal in popularity.

The church is by far the most popular place of marriage for the college group, with 74 percent of the respondents giving a church as the place of marriage. An additional 10 percent were married in a parsonage. Six percent were married in a civil office and only 5 percent in the home of the bride. With 84 percent of the respondents going to a church or parsonage for marriage, it is clear that a relation between marriage and religion still prevails. For these college students, the bond of matrimony remains a holy bond. This is the more significant in a time when another ritual—the funeral—seems increasingly to be moving away from the church to the undertaker's parlor or the graveside.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF MARRIED STUDENTS

The questionnaire contained certain questions designed to elicit comments from the respondents regarding special problems that may confront married students.

Seventy-nine percent of the respondents stated that the housing facilities now available to them are unsatisfactory. Tensions resulting from the existing housing conditions are evident. Many students who live off-campus envy those who succeed in obtaining University

apartments. These off-campus residents feel that not only are they denied advantages given other students, but that in addition they are exposed to exploitation by property owners renting housing facilities to college students. On the other hand, considerable dissatisfaction is present among the families living in University apartments. Criticism extends over a wide variety of subjects, among them maintenance, fire hazards, sanitation, traffic, equipment, laundry facilities, nurseries, play areas, assignment of quarters, and shopping problems.

Some student families indicate a willingness to accept almost any kind of housing if the rent is cheap. Since most married students now living off-campus pay an average of \$70 a month, however, for housing, including utilities, it would seem that they are prepared to pay this amount for adequate housing. Students who live in trailers are confronted with the scarcity of properly designed and equipped trailer parks.

Since jobs provide needed income for more than half of the married student families, it is to be expected that many married students should comment on the job situation. Forty-six percent of the male respondents stated that their wives have jobs, and it is apparent that in most instances where the wife has regular full-time employment, her earnings make it possible for the husband to continue his education. Over half of the wives are employed in secretarial positions, about one-sixth are teachers, while the others are engaged in a score or more of other occupations. As only 15 percent of the male respondents stated that their wives had sought employment and failed to obtain it, it appears that success in securing some kind of employment is the common experience with wives free to accept full-time employment. Twenty-three percent of the male respondents stated that their efforts to obtain part-time employment for themselves had been unsuccessful. Criticism of working conditions and pay scales was not lacking, but was limited and moderate in tone. Many respondents expressed a desire for more help in getting jobs for themselves or their spouses.

As only 6 per cent of the respondents expressed an opinion regarding scholarship funds and only 5 percent regarding loan funds, it appears that most married students are more concerned about other sources of income than about loans and scholarships. The extent to which the lack of interest in this form of students aid is a reflection of the comparative scarcity of such aid at the present time cannot be determined from the available data.

Many other subjects elicited comments from the respondents, among them the registration system, the operation of the bookstore,

the parking situation, required courses in physical education, medical services, student government, uninspiring teachers, rigid schedules, and further topics of general interest to students, whether married or not. It is evident that some students among those who are married particularly those living off the campus, feel that they have no part in the social life of the campus. A few respondents thought that special social programs for married students should be arranged.

One 17-year-old bride declared:

"Many of the wives . . . are still teen-agers and need social life. It can be terribly lonesome when our husbands study twelve hours a day. A community center and weekly dances, television, ping pong tables, etc., would be a morale booster for those who find themselves 'down in the dumps.'"

The older married students, and especially those who have children, gave little indication of wanting to share in the social activities that constitute so large a part of the college life of the average undergraduate. It is evident, however, that among married students a psychological need for some kind of social recognition is keenly felt. These students are troubled not so much by their loss of identity with the college-age group as by uncertainty as to their new status. Separated in some degree from their unmarried classmates, they have not yet joined the groups that form around occupation, community, and civic responsibilities. As students they are detached from social life beyond the campus, and as married students they are detached from the social life within it. Even the student's wife, busy with her job, must sometimes feel a need for status not wholly satisfied by the promise of settled life beyond the degree.

Only 2 percent of the respondents expressed a desire for professional counselling. Whatever may be their problems with budgets, child-care, marital adjustments, and such matters, married students show little interest in taking these problems to "experts," though a few respondents indicated that evening get-togethers without course credit might be helpful. What their response to guidance services would be if such services were available is not known. There does seem to prevail among students after marriage, however, the self-confidence that before marriage led so many of them to make the serious decision to marry without seeking the advice of anyone.

THE EFFECT OF MARRIAGE ON THE STUDENT

If one accepts the evaluations made by college students of their own experience, the widespread idea that marriage interferes with

college education is groundless. Sixty-one percent of the respondents stated that their grades had been favorably affected by marriage, 33 percent that no effect on their grades had resulted from their marriage, 4 percent that the outcome was uncertain, and only 2 percent that their grades had been adversely affected by their marriage. No attempt was made to verify these opinions, because little is gained by relating marriage to the grades of a group of students unless factors other than marriage are held constant.

Until married students in the nation's colleges and universities have been studied with the care devoted to the study of the scholastic experience of veteran students, the question of the relation between marriage and college grades must go unanswered. Studies of veterans present convincing evidence to show that veteran students make better grades in college, in relation to their ability, than do non-veteran students.⁵ The fact that the veteran students studied were probably somewhat more mature than the non-veteran students does not appear wholly to explain the difference in performance between the two groups. The evaluation of the marital factor in the performance of college students is difficult to make, since that factor is extremely difficult to isolate, but it is possible that marital status as well as age affects performance in college, and that marriage, far from being a handicap, is an aid in the pursuit of higher education. For whatever their opinions may be worth, most married students seem to believe that such is the case.

Furthermore, 92 percent of the respondents believe that they should have married when they did, and only 8 percent feel that their marriage should have been delayed, or, in a very few instances, should not have taken place at all.

⁵ See Norman Frederiksen and W. B. Schrader, *Adjustment to College* (Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1951).

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THE WELL-ROUNDED GRADUATE

James K. Feibleman

The ideal of education in university circles is the well-rounded graduate, and the curriculum is designed to produce him in the greatest possible numbers. The topic is under continual study in order to determine how the procedures might be improved. But seldom does anyone question whether the ideal is a desirable one in the first place.

How did the well-rounded man come to have such an important role? Aristotle took all knowledge to be his province; and Francis Bacon said so. It would be difficult to see how this could be done today, when specialties have reached such enormous proportions. Could a man know all there is to know about bacteriology and also about the history of technology? Could he know all there is to know about either subject, for that matter? What Bacon meant was that he took the theory of all knowledge to be his province; he could hardly have meant the practice as well. For it was as true in his day as it is now that the intensification of experience one gains from the practice of a technical field in the arts or the sciences requires years of concentrated effort and is not to be won in the short period represented by the four years of college training. If you wish to know all there is to know about a field, you must spend many decades on it, steep yourself in it, work over it, sleep with it, and almost in a sense become part of it. In short, to be proficient in a given area one must be altogether devoted to it.

What then has happened to the concept of the well-rounded man? He seems to have reappeared in response to the equal demands of all the specialties. The smattering of everything that we now call a balanced curriculum obviously has no standing so far as the facts just enumerated are concerned and serves no intelligent purpose. A little studio art, a little laboratory science, an inadequate acquaintance with a foreign language, some training in confusing English as a tool of communication with English as a literary medium, a smattering of mathematics, a survey of some vast periods of history, usually western, a course or two of social studies covering in pseudo-technical language already familiar ground, perhaps a course in philosophy designed to teach the student that the metaphysics of classical philosophers should be judged on the same basis as their inadequate scientific ideas.

What is the result of all this? How much does the well-rounded graduate pursue knowledge after his departure from the university? The taking of a bachelor of arts degree is entitled commencement.

Precisely what processes has his four years commenced? The chances are that the graduate will make his living at some specialty for which he is poorly prepared. He will need to devote himself to it full time, and there will be few hours to enjoy the random cultivation he has been prepared for in college. But even if there were time, he would not avail himself of it in this way. For college has taught him a smattering of learning, but it has not taught him *respect* for learning. He will not leave his *alma mater* convinced that Aristotle was right in considering the intellectual life to be the highest achievement and aspiration of man. And he will not find himself in a culture in which this is taken for granted. A man is not encouraged to lead the intellectual life even in his spare time in an atmosphere in which the egg-head is severely derogated. The results are what we could have expected under the circumstances. A survey of the reading of college graduates is a disheartening affair. And the accomplishments of college men with degrees is no less so.

This is not to say that it is better not to attend college. In these days of technical specialties, the man who does not attend college dooms himself to the performance of some kind of unskilled labor. He may make a success in the world despite this handicap; many have. But it is no less a handicap for all that. We cannot count for success in the world upon the stimulus of penalties, even though this sometimes works. For it is still true that on the whole it is better to have attended college than not. There is a technical and professional training to be got there that is so much harder to acquire in other ways and at other periods in one's life.

Judging by the experience of many productive people, we can come to the conclusion that the preferred plan is to attend college, to specialize in undergraduate work, and to leave college after any number of years that seems sufficient, say from two to six, without having taken a degree.

Let us consider first some examples from leading American men of letters. Theodore Dreiser spent one year at the University of Indiana. Ring Lardner was only a single semester at Armour Institute in Chicago. Robert Frost attended Harvard for two years. Sandburg was a "self-help" student at Lombard College but left without taking a degree. Poe left the University of Virginia though not of his own accord. O'Neill departed from Princeton after one year under similar circumstances. Steinbeck attended California colleges for some six years, taking mostly biology courses, but left without a degree. Faulkner attended the University of Mississippi for two years only.

Next we may sample a list of illustrious Americans whose achieve-

ments were not made possible by the well-rounded education demanded of every degree candidate.

Private study for the bar, which was so characteristic of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, produced many eminent men even though it could hardly have been described as a well-rounded education. Many distinguished Americans were apprenticed to law firms and then practiced law before the advent of the law schools of our leading universities; men who were able, brilliant even, though hardly possessing well-rounded formal education. Consider for example the list of eminent men who rose to be President of the United States without having graduated from college. Andrew Jackson studied privately for the bar, as did also Martin Van Buren. Andrew Johnson was without a college education. Abraham Lincoln studied privately for the bar (one of his admirers has asked, 'How could he have failed when he had all those trees and a few good books?'). Grover Cleveland's training was in a lawyer's office. William McKinley went to Union Seminary and Allegheny College but did not finish.

Among business and industrial leaders, many of the men who early made the greatest fortunes in America were not college products, notably John D. Rockefeller, Henry Ford, Andrew Carnegie and E. I. DuPont. That the process still goes on in much the same way, at least in some areas—oil, for instance—is shown by the names of H. L. Hunt and Henry J. Kaiser, neither of whom ever attended college, and of Clint Murchison and Sid Richardson, both of whom attended college without obtaining a degree.

Aristotle has recorded a description of the hero of Homer's lost comedy, *The Margites*. He says that it was about a young man who knew of many things but knew them all badly. Here no doubt we have the first account of the well-rounded man. We live in a period in which such a confusion is more than likely to come about, for there is an increasing specialization of knowledge daily, more lines to go away from the center and none to bring them back. Philosophy has been deposed from its rightful position as the systematizer of knowledge and there has been no other discipline to take its place. The result is that the throne is occupied by the worst of tyrants, for, as Aristophanes said, chaos is the ruler, whirl is king. No one knows exactly why the average undergraduate curriculum is what it is. It somehow seems to offer a well-rounded program, but it was arrived at by means of democratic procedures, and there is no democracy of truth. It is composed of the experimental sciences, the humanities, and the social sciences, usually in equal parts. But who has estimated them in this way, who has weighed these divisions in at equal values, and by what standards? Again, what are the connections between the

classes that the undergraduate attends? Does history have anything to do with sociology or chemistry with German? That it might is never spelled out to him, and no attempt is made to dispel the impression which such diversity of training is bound to engender: that his instructors are themselves specialists, that the curriculum was designed as the best compromise possible with them, and that the various studies to which he gives his time actually have little or nothing to do with each other. He emerges convinced that the world is full of a number of things and that he could easily be as happy as kings if only he had as much money.

What under the circumstances can be done to rectify the situation? For we have to work within the limits of the existing educational institutions. Seen in this way, there are a number of feasible revisions that might be considered.

We might consider revising the degree requirements in order to allow specialization. A student would be expected to attend college for four years or more, and he would be expected to have 120 hours of classroom credit before receiving his degree. He could, however, take as long as he liked to get them. There would be no required courses under this plan. He could take whatever he wanted whenever he wanted. All of his credit hours could be in one subject. The plan would provide for those who wanted it the graduate type of specialization at the undergraduate level. If a man wished to be a mathematician, he could start at the undergraduate level confining himself to mathematics. If he wished to be a novelist, he could confine his attention to courses in the English department. The quality-point system could be retained, and an established number of quality-points required for graduation.

We might consider abolishing the athletic requirement. The athletic facilities would be retained for those who desired them for health or relaxation. But the university would not be a training ground for athletes. On the other hand, those who wished to specialize in athletics would be permitted to do so. Professional football players would be as welcome as they are now, only they could more honestly be sought after. We would not have to pretend to consider every student a potential athlete and every professional athlete a potential student.

We might consider relaxing the division between the graduate and undergraduate schools. The student could slip easily from the one to the other at any desired point in his educational career. He would go as fast as his equipment and preparation would permit him, and all in the one direction if he preferred.

We might consider permitting the student at the graduate level

to relax the intense concentration on a single field. It might be in some cases that having established a dimension in depth a student would like to find out what bearing related or even opposed fields had upon his specialty. He might wish to explore the arts as a contrast with physics, or the sciences as a contrast with painting. Thus just as specialization would be permitted at the lower levels, a broader program would be allowed at the higher. The well-rounded graduate would be neither encouraged nor discouraged as an ideal; and there would always be a place for it.

We might consider restoring the faculty to their two functions in equal parts. They would teach only half-time, thus permitting them to study or engage in research for the other half. Thus the university would be more of an institution devoted to the increase of knowledge, in which students were allowed to overhear the processes and to learn through imitation. We have given up the apprentice system too completely in adopting the lecture and formal teaching method; what we need is the best of both. Thus students would be charmed into learning and would acquire knowledge more avidly as a matter of mimesis.

More avidly and more profoundly. Here perhaps is the most important point in the curriculum changes being proposed. For we are content now when students exhibit a superficial knowledge of their subject-matter, the kind of knowledge that relies upon memory. If they know enough, we are content. But the apprentice method of teaching was more encouraging to learning in depth, to the communication of understanding. It is possible to communicate through example and close association the technique of feeling one's way into a field of inquiry, and in this way perhaps the encouragement of production is made a little more possible. For what we seek in the end is not so much a well-rounded graduate (though that in itself is not an undesirable goal) as a contributor to the field of knowledge, and few if any are ever able to make a contribution to more than one field. A general education must rest upon achievements in many divisions of knowledge; whereas the contribution of the specialist is always single. The university has the responsibility for both, and thus cannot devote itself altogether to the former. The aims of the specialist and of the well-rounded graduate are in conflict, and it is the task of the university to effect a resolution.

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UNDERACHIEVEMENT AND A SEARCH FOR VALUES

James Rath

For years teachers have been concerned with the failure of some very bright children to achieve at a level commensurate with their ability. As a result of the current emphasis on group testing to measure academic potential, discrepancies between intellectual ability and achievement have become even more apparent. Underachievement is now recognized as a serious problem by parents, teachers, and scholars alike. Also, a prominent concern of the American public is the issue of values. In the Korean conflict, American soldiers signed away family, home, country, and even religion for food and comfort. At home, young men and women commit dastardly crimes with little motive or reward. These incidents in current history have thrust the consideration of values to the fore.

Is there a relationship between underachievement in secondary school students and their acquisition of values? In 1960, an attempt¹ was made to test the idea that underachievement is not merely a situation in which intelligent students are receiving poor grades, but it is a symptom of students' failure to acquire a set of values for themselves. It was hypothesized that as efforts are made to clarify attitudes, purposes, aspirations, feelings, interests, and beliefs, underachievement patterns will wane. This idea suggests that getting good grades is not a genuine aspiration of the underachieving intelligent student, but a goal imposed upon him by his parents, teachers, and perhaps society. It was assumed that as attitudes and goals of great concern to students are clarified and as values are developed, students will find new purposes in their school work. As a result, they will see achievement as a personal goal and will strive toward it.

Concomitant with the current interest in underachievement and values is a general, widespread confusion about the meaning of these words. For the purposes of this study, an underachiever was defined as a student with an IQ score of 115 or higher who, in academic achievement, ranked in the bottom quarter of his class. A value was defined operationally as a feeling, attitude, belief, problem, or interest that meets the following criteria: (1) it is prized (2) it is chosen after reflection (3) it is affirmed (4) it is part of a regular and rather consistent pattern of behavior (5) it penetrates into significant aspects of living and of life.

¹ James Rath, "An Application of Clarifying Techniques to Academic Underachievers in High School," (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1960).

The experiment took place in a small wealthy community twenty miles outside of New York City. The high school, containing approximately 100 students in each grade, offers for the most part a college preparatory curriculum and close to 95 per cent of the graduates enter college. Out of 38 students who qualified as underachievers in the school, the names of 13 pairs were matched according to sex, grade in school, previous rank-in-class, social class, and IQ. Using random selection methods, six pairs were chosen and one of each pair was selected as an experimental student.

The experimenter worked with the experimental group in an effort to help clarify their attitudes, beliefs, interests, purposes and aspirations. An essential part of the procedure was the effort to communicate concern and interest in the ideas and thoughts of the students. Secondly, it was important to persevere in the application of the procedure regularly over one semester. The procedure consisted of listening and reacting to a student's discussion of topics of interest to him. Many times attitudinal statements were elicited by examining students' written work, by perusing selected paragraphs for value statements, and by analysing their free time schedules. As attitudinal statements were identified in a student's written work, or as preferences were expressed in his time schedules for various activities, the investigator frequently made use of the following clarifying techniques: (1) he asked for the definition of a key word or words. (2) he asked if a statement were inconsistent with a previous statement (3) he said back in question form exactly what the student had said (4) he said back in question form what the student had said with significant distortions (5) he asked for some implications of an idea expressed by the student (6) he asked for the sources of a student's preferences or ideas (7) he asked for examples (8) he asked the student if he liked an idea. These questions and others used, were in the main ones for which the investigator did not have an answer and for which only the student had an answer. The sessions were not part of the experimental students' class load and meetings were scheduled from day to day. The meetings were conducted in private and lasted about twenty minutes. Each student met with the experimenter a minimum of twelve times during the semester.

At the close of the experiment, two sources of evidence were examined and analyzed by means of the sign test: net changes in rank-in-class and net changes in grade point average. The null hypothesis tested was that there was no relationship between the clarification procedure and students' achievement levels. According to the design of the sign test, if the clarifying procedures had no systematic effect, the plus and minus signs would most likely be distributed evenly and at random among the six pairs. It was found that in both cases, five

out of six of the signs favored the experimental group. The probability associated with this occurrence is .109. The decision was to reject the null hypothesis in favor of the alternative hypothesis. It was concluded that the clarifying procedure was consistently associated with an increase in the achievement level of the students in the experimental group.

This experiment implies that to teach some students effectively the subject matter deemed important at the secondary level, their attitudes and beliefs must be clarified. If a student has not had the chance to develop his values in the home, or in the church, or elsewhere, the school must provide experiences for him to do so. It is important for the reason that learning seems to become blocked for some students who have unclear values and purposes.

How will schools and teachers provide an opportunity for students to achieve clearer notions of their purposes, goals, aspirations, beliefs, and attitudes?

Schools might adopt the sort of one-to-one methodology used by the investigator in this study, but cost and time factors certainly make this choice an impractical one.

A special class might be devoted each day, each week, or each month to the clarifying of students ideas in crucial areas of their lives. However, research in the field suggests that a special class session set aside to consider value-related problems is rather ineffective.²

It would seem most effective if questions of value permeated the secondary curriculum; if questions of beliefs and attitudes were an integral part of all courses and not the subject of only one course. Assignments and activities in all fields might elicit from students attitudinal statements that could be re-acted to and listened to by the teacher. To facilitate the accomplishment of this task, college faculties, supervisors, and principals must help teachers devise curriculum materials and assignments that help secondary students investigate and discover their interests, beliefs, and attitudes. Perhaps it is in this manner that schools can best help students direct themselves to constructive roles in our society. To test this conjecture, an experiment is being conducted at the Campus School, University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee. Teachers in grades five through eight are applying the clarification procedure to their classes as an integral part of the course of study. The results of this experiment will be available in the late summer of 1961.

² Education Policies Commission, *Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools* (Washington, D. C., National Education Association, 1957), p. 57.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Images of Man. The classic tradition in sociological thinking. Selected and edited with an introduction by C. Wright Mills. New York: George Braziller, pp. 528.

Professor Mills makes the statement that, "Every thinker tries to select his own intellectual past, and is in turn shaped by it. Many of the thinkers presented in this volume are the leading representatives of the CLASSIC tradition of sociological thinking."

In the Introduction the editor defines the Classic Tradition. He also explains why some well-known writers have been excluded from this work. Following the introduction, the book is divided into three parts: Obstacles and Orientations; Types and Trends of Society; The Crises of Individuality.

A thorough reading of this very comprehensive work may well induce more reading of the writers represented here. The book will be a welcome addition to all libraries.

Max Meyer

Improving Patterns of Language Usage, by Ruth I. Golden. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 196 pp.

How can the high school English teacher effectively help students who speak sub-standard, socially unacceptable English? How can he point out these differences in speech patterns without appearing to be prejudiced when a major portion of his students are Negroes? How can a cultural group's non-standard speech be changed to standard speech and thereby help eliminate prejudice while at the same time increase the students' social, vocational and economic opportunities? The author believes that these questions form the basis of a problem which has become a crisis in education today.

The book is a result of one year's independent study on a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education. Since present methods of language teaching have not been sufficiently adequate to overcome the problem of sub-standard speech, new techniques had to be developed for improving oral speech patterns. The author developed a questionnaire so as to gain a greater insight to the problem. This instrument was designed to reveal and clarify the nature of the problem, to discover which factors are most helpful in motivating students to improve their speech, and which teaching techniques students think to be most effective. The author goes on at great length with regard to the specific results and findings. The use of statistical tables in the reviewers opinion does not make for interesting reading; how-

ever, one can be reasonably certain that they will appeal to many teachers vitally concerned with the sub-standard speech patterns of our youth, and who derive much satisfaction from analyzing the data.

The remainder of the book is devoted to very positive ways of improving speech patterns. The remedial lessons and exercises are excellent not only in content but in organization.

After having read the book, one has the distinct feeling that the author has at last accomplished what she has been wanting to do for many years, that is, to clarify and help solve a language problem that is admittedly "a narrow channel in light of all that is known about language."

William L. Vinciguerra

Concepts and Methods of Social Work, by Walter A. Friedlander (editor), Henry S. Maas, Gisela Konopka, and Genevieve W. Carter. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1959. ix-308 pp.

Readers familiar with Professor Friedlander's earlier text, *Introduction to Social Welfare*, may well expect a volume that offers a cogent, well-organized, and lucid presentation of social welfare concepts. This book will not disappoint them.

As the title indicates, this work describes the three basic methods of social work practice—casework, group work, and community organization for social welfare. The authors believe that social work skills can best be developed under professional supervision, integrating practical and theoretical knowledge. This view implies that the function of a text in this area is to offer the most authoritative and widely accepted principles and methods of social work rather than a detailed guide to action. Hence the emphasis is on the theoretical aspects of the three primary methods of social work.

This is an advanced text which requires a basic understanding of the fundamentals in the field. Its widest potential audience would be among graduate students and experienced social workers studying in seminars and in-service training study groups. It should also appeal to such enlightened citizens as members of social agency boards who want to deepen their understanding of social work.

Frederick Shaw

Social Science in General Education, by Lewis B. Mayhew (ed.)
Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company, 1960, 269 pp. \$4.50.

This book describes the experiences of twenty junior colleges, colleges, and universities which have attempted to provide their

students with an interdisciplinary approach to the general area of social science. This is not a collection of visionary, utopian essays on "progressive education," but an objective account of the goals, methods, and general results of time-tested experiments. The problems that one can expect to encounter when employing an interdisciplinary approach are clearly delineated by Professor Mayhew in an introductory chapter, and criteria for the courses are suggested. The remaining chapters were written by educators at the institutions whose courses are being described, and there seem to be few attempts at ignoring the obstacles they have encountered. The successes outweigh the failures, however, and while no one claims that it has been easy, the consensus is that the extra effort is worthwhile.

The chapters are, of necessity, rather brief. But the essentials are there, and the reader is given a general picture of the aims and methods of each school. It is well, perhaps, that a more detailed account of each experience is not given. It would require a very thick volume indeed for a full explanation of an interdisciplinary course at any college. This is hardly necessary, for no school should attempt to adopt in toto the system used by another. The needs of each student body will differ, and these needs should be the determining factors in setting up a curriculum.

Nevertheless, we can profit from the experiences of others, and this book will be a very useful work for any institution now considering the establishment of courses that cut across traditional subject-matter lines in the social sciences. Many of the aims, methods, materials, and activities described by the various schools could be adopted by others, and the book may provide a yardstick by which the veterans can measure their existing programs.

George G. Dawson

Old Textbooks, by John A. Nietz. University of Wisconsin Press, 1961. \$6.00.

John Nietz owns more than 8000 texts published before 1900. These, plus important collections around the country, were the main source of this entertaining and informative volume entitled *Old Textbooks*. Within its three hundred and fifty plus pages, one can find many fascinating facts and curious facsimiles from scores of early textbooks. "The object of this little book is not so much to impart geographical knowledge, as to prepare the pupil for its successive acquirement in the future." Thus, we find a surprisingly mod-

ern philosophy in Guyot's *Primary Geography*, published in 1866. A page from Prang's *The Use of Models* (1887), an art series whose aim was to promote the child's mental development as well as his art ability, shows children engaged in what we might describe as project work. The illustration is captioned, "It is hardly necessary to say that these children can READ, can WRITE, can MAKE, can DRAW." Some of the texts discussed were originally printed in England and were subsequently reprinted many times in America. One of these, Thomas Dilworth's *The Schoolmaster's Assistant; Being a Compendium of Arithmetic both Practical and Theoretical* (1773) contained material for use on all grade levels, since graded arithmetics did not appear until 1830 or so. Nietz quotes the following problems from this "best seller" among early arithmetics:

"If one pound ten and forty Groats
Will buy a Load of Hay,
How many Pounds with nineteen Crowns
For twenty Loads will Pay?"

The reader will be intrigued by the many photographs and excerpts quoted from early texts in reading, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, geography, American history, civil government, physiology, penmanship, music, and art. Each chapter is carefully organized and documented, and each profits from the sound analysis and interpretation provided by the author. One must marvel at the freshness which this approach gives to the study of at least one phase of the history of education. Certainly this volume should be included in the library of anyone interested in the development of the American culture, not to mention specialists in the field of education.

Dr. Nietz, who is Emeritus Professor of Education at the University of Pittsburgh, is planning a companion volume to this one. It will deal with secondary school textbooks. One can hardly expect it to surpass the present volume, though we await its appearance anxiously. Perhaps the only thing lacking in the present volume is a complete listing of titles and publication dates which could serve as a guide for the reader who becomes so engrossed with the subject that he himself decides to become a collector! On the other hand, such listing would probably have required an additional volume—especially if the textbook titles are as formidable as Noah Webster's Reader, whose full title was, "An American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking Calculated to Improve the Minds and Refine the Taste of Youth, And Also to Instruct Them in Geography, History

and Politics of the United States. To Which Are Prefixed, Rules of Elocution, and Directions for Expressing the Principal Passions of the Mind. Being the Third Part of the Grammatical Institute of the English Language."

Emilio Rivera
Adelphi College

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